5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

THE MALOCA

The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manufactured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play outside and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the doorway of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and facing inward.

When I came among the *Bahúkiwa* they were on the upswing, having come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-compartment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was 75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction. The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The headman is known as *kenámi upákũ* (owner of the house). The house is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo believe, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relationships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook discourtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community. The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

CUBEO

A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as pets.

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had been living among the *Bahüküwa* a short time when they learned of my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiarí. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a small basket (*póbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pedíba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a